vent acquiescence in such a demand, but Egypt was very far off, and the eastern khalifate had been wiped out of existence. So there was no help forthcoming, and refusal excusing invasion, Timbuctoo was captured by the Moors.[1] They crossed the Niger in pursuit, but in vain laid siege to Kaghû. Nevertheless the submissions which were received extended the Empire to Káno,[2] and the whole of the eastern Ṣûdán was theirs. Among the captives brought to Marrákesh on this occasion was the learned Ahmad Bábá, the historian of the Sonrhai nation, "the one negroid man of letters whose name holds a worthy place beside those of Leo Africanus, Ibn Khaldûn, Et-Tûnisi, and other Hamitic writers,"[3] whom the ameer afterwards permitted to return.*

1591.

All this meant the gathering of enormous tribute; one batch included twelve hundred slaves, of gold-dust forty loads, and four gold-mounted saddles, not to count good store of ebony, musk and civet. The result of tapping this gold-field† kept fourteen hundred punches going in the Moorish capital, coining gold alone.[4] In Marrákesh the vast palace known as Dár el Bideeá was built, to fall a century later before that destructive builder, Mulai Ismâïl. Outside Fez were erected the conspicuous forts which still retain the name imparted by their foreign builders, the "Bastions,"[5] and in Laraiche and other cities fortresses were built. The Timbuctoo expedition brought into Morocco for the first time an article which in England was contemporaneously

Tapping a Gold-Field.

* En-Náṣiri (vol. iii., p. 63) states that his family was robbed of 1600 volumes.

† See "The Trading of the Moores into Guinee and Gago for gold-ore or sandie gold," from Ro. C's. "True Historicall Discourse," in "Purchas His Pilgrims," vol. ii.

[1] El Ufráni, p. 265. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[3] Prof. Keene, *Man, Past and Present*, chap iii.
[4] El Ufráni, p. 167. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

sold for its weight in silver,[1] tobacco, "that evil plant!"[2] It is said to have been brought by the blacks who came from the Ṣûdán in charge of an elephant, the cause of even more excitement than the carriages from Portugal.* The ameer's objection to intoxicating drink was so great that he beheaded the Spanish renegade to whom he had entrusted the education of the heir apparent, Mohammed es-Sheikh, for having taught him its use.[3]

Introduction of Tobacco.

The sovereign whose reign these events had marked is described as a clever, widely read man, possessing a fine library. He contemplated a collection of poems by shareefs, and was himself the author of a work on politics, and of prayers for special occasions. Specimens of his works were even sent to Cairo for the approval of the literati. As a great caligraphist he exercised his ingenuity in the invention of a special set of characters for private correspondence.[4] On his death from the plague he was buried at Marrákesh in a splendid mausoleum.[5]

An Ameer's Character.

1603.

Notwithstanding the precaution of causing allegiance to be twice sworn to his son, Mohammed es-Sheikh, his death was the signal for a general scramble. Three of his sons, on one excuse or another, laid claim to the throne, and in Morocco the seventeenth century, though it had so peacefully opened, saw the country plunged in an unusually complicated civil war.

Succession Scramble.

* A like excitement probably never stirred till three centuries later Queen Victoria presented Mulai el Hasan III. with an Indian elephant.[6] By a curious coincidence it was not until this second elephantine guest arrived that determined measures were taken to put down the use of tobacco by the Moors. The use of the "weed" has always been considered among them as a doubtful practice, but as theological opinions differed in respect of its legality, the habit of smoking crept in. (See *The Moors*, chapter vi.)

[1] Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*.
[2] El Ufráni, p. 264. [3] Ro. C. [4] El Ufráni, pp. 218, 225, 226.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 306 (inscription quoted). [6] See chapter xvii.

Zidán, who was governor of Tádla, where he had begun
1603. to build a city on the Um er-Rabîâ, to be called Zidánia,[1] was the first proclaimed at Fez, but was refused in Marrákesh. The Red City decided for the governor of Sûs, 'Abd el 'Aziz III., surnamed Abu Fáris[2] (the name by which he is better known), and entitled El Wáthik b'Illah, "The Reliant on God."

The third brother, Mohammed XII. (es-Sheïkh), the heir-apparent, had, by reason of rebellion against his father the year before, been seized, even in sanctuary, and cast into the prison of Mequinez. The governor immediately conveyed him to Marrákesh, where his brother Abu Fáris set him free on the condition of his abjuring his claim, and entrusted him with an army, wherewith he routed Zidán, who fled to Tlemçen and Tafilált. Mohammed's next step was to march with the remnant of Zidán's army
1606. to Fez, where he was proclaimed, and soon after was able to drive Abu Fáris from Marrákesh. The inhabitants summoned Zidán to their aid, but though he took possession temporarily, the army of Es-Sheïkh captured the city once more, and once more sacked it.
1607. The people fled to the Jebel Gilîz, where they elected as ameer another Mohammed, a grandson of Mohammed IX., and under his leadership recovered Marrákesh. But objections were raised against him, and
1608. Zidán was recalled to become sole ruler, though the son of Es-Sheïkh, who had already strangled Abu Fáris, made a vain attack upon him.

At this juncture Es-Sheïkh appealed for assistance to Felipe III. of Spain—he who expelled the Moriscos next
1609. year—in return for which he gave Laraiche,* but his attempt was unsuccessful, and he was killed in his

* He had at first offered Salli and El Kaṣar as well, if helped with men and money, employing as his ambassador an Italian merchant.[3]

[1] Ro. C. [2] El Ufráni, p. 309. [3] Ro. C.

1613. camp four years later.[1]* On the other hand, Zidán secured the services of some two hundred English volunteers under Captain John Giffard,† and also entered into a treaty with the States General,[2] to which he sent an embassy. An interesting diplomatic

European Relations.

1605. episode of the times had been the adventures of Sir Anthony Sherley, an Englishman, who came to Saffi from the Emperor of Germany.[3] Another
1622. noteworthy visitor to Morocco during this reign was Jakob van Gool, or Golius, as he was styled, the Leyden professor of Oriental languages, whose written Arabic astonished the ameer, but who could not manage to converse with him except in Spanish.[4] Zidán must himself have been something of a scholar, for he loved his books, the collection, probably, made by his father. He entrusted 3000 volumes[5] to a Frenchman to transport by sea to a place of safety during a rebellion—raised by Abu Mahalli, whom he ultimately overcame—but the vessel containing them and other of his valuables was driven out to sea by a storm, as so often occurs at that port, before the ameer himself went on board, and

The Escorial Library.

was captured by a Spanish privateer.[6] The French consul was in consequence arrested, and
1624. Razelli, the envoy from France, was sent back to demand their return, his suite being imprisoned for several years till a new king reigned.[7] Zidán's son and

* El Ufráni tells of an unsuccessful expedition in 1613 of Christians, who occupied a citadel on the Wád el Ḥalk, but the retreat of their vessels being cut off, they were caught in the river, three hundred Moorish slaves on board being liberated, and three hundred Christians captured. The Algerines purchased the captain, whom they placed in an iron cage.

† See chapter xii.

[1] Ro. C., p. 323. [2] Dumont, t. v.; Aitzema, t. i.
[3] Fully described by Ro. C. in an unpaged publication (see chapter xvi.)
[4] Höst, p. 34; Windus, p. 222; Godard, p. 482. [5] En-Náṣiri, vol. iii., p. 128.
[6] Puerto, p. 254; El Ufráni, p. 324; Réponse, p. 136; Mouette, *Hist.*, p. 284.
[7] D'Angers (see chap. xvii).

successor imprisoned the Spanish friars instead, but never recovered the books, which were lodged in the Escorial, where they may yet be consulted.*

In addition to the revolt of Abu Mahalli, a reforming leader who took Marrákesh,† the people of Fez endeavoured to set up a leader of their own, but failed, and the city was sacked. In revenge, said a contemporary sheïkh, Si Geddár, "Mulai Idrees gave him such a kick that he sent him beyond the Wád el 'Abîd, which he could never afterwards cross to approach him."[1] What with these rebellions, and the




COIN OF MULAI ZÎDÁN

Area I.—"In the name of the most merciful God, the slave of God, the Imám, the Victorious in the Faith of God, Zîdán, Prince of the Faithful."

Margin I.—"Struck in the fortress (Fez)." [Date indecipherable.]

Area II.—"Son of the Imám Ahmad bin Imám Muhammed es-Sheïkh (bin) Imám es-Shareef El Hasan."

Margin II.—"For God earnestly desires to cleanse you from stains, ye who are of the family of the prophet."

struggle with his brothers, Zîdán had, in the opinion of El Ufráni,[2] as much as "would have blanched the hair of a child at the breast." To maintain himself, he was forced to seek aid from Turkey, to which he remitted—according to native

* In 1646 Mohammed XIII. wrote to Philip of Spain that they had been shipped for Agadîr, but that the Frenchman had endeavoured to steal them.[3] They were believed to include MSS. of St. Augustine.

† Coins were struck by this man at Ketáwa and Marrákesh from 1609 to 1613, under the title of Ab'ul 'Abbás Ahmad, "Abu Mahalli" being only a nickname. (See Fr. Nat. Col.)

1 El Ufráni, p. 400. 2 p. 399. 3 Puerto, p. 476.

authors—ten hundredweight of gold, in return for which twelve thousand troops were sent, though all were wrecked on the way but one vessel.[1] The Spanish Moors whom Felipe III. had expelled,* had settled in large

Expelled Moriscos. 1610. numbers in Salli, and had made the disorganised state of the country an excuse for setting up a republic of pirates. For support against them the ameer

1625. was fain to turn to England, and procured assistance from Charles I., which he employed with success.†

On Zîdán's death the royal parasol was borne beside his

1627. son 'Abd el Málek II., a drunkard, whose life was taken by renegade assassins. He was followed by his

1631. brother El Walîd, a man of similar vice, who met with a similar fate.[2] A more enlightened ruler,

1637. careful of shedding blood, was then released from prison and proclaimed, Mohammed XIII. (es-Sheïkh es-Ṣaghîr), a third son of Zîdán, by a Spanish slave. He liberated many captives, set free the imprisoned missionaries, and permitted more to come.[3] From his reign dates the use of the title of sultán or emperor, which

Title of Sultan. has since been borne by Moorish sovereigns, instead of that of ameer or prince. His happy reign of eighteen years—the one bright spot in the latter part of the Sâadi period—was terminated by his murder at the

* The decree for their expulsion is given by Padre Guadalajara in his *Memorabile Expulsion y Iustissimo Destierro de los Moriscos de España* (Pamplona, 1613), p. 136. Three days' notice only was given, and money alone was allowed to be taken, life being forfeited by remaining, though children under four *electing to remain* might do so, as also the Morisco wives of Christians, but not the Morisco husbands of Christians, whose children under six months old might remain with their mothers. From one hundred and thirty places in Aragon there went forth sixty-four thousand souls, representing thirteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-three families, and all available galleys were pressed into the transport service.

† See chapter xii.

1 El Ufráni, pp. l.c. 2 *Ibid.*, 406–7. 3 Puerto, p. 393.

hand of some Berbers who found him thrown from his horse between El Kaṣar and Tetuan.[1]

The cordial relations which had begun to spring up during these disturbances, between the Moors and the Portuguese, who had no trouble in finding allies among the pretenders and rebels, led to an important religious rising under a certain "saint," El 'Ayáshi, known simply to the foreigners as "Santo." He, with an

Internal Rebellion. 1639.

important following of Diláï Sanhája Berbers, made serious attacks on Mazagan, Laraiche, and Mâmôra, and though in no instance successful, he was so far victorious that when he came northward to Salli he was approached by its independent inhabitants in a manner "which decided him to cause his happy star to shine in the Salletin heaven."[2] He was accepted as ruler from Táza to Tamsna, but the Andalucian Moors, newly settled in Salli, conspired against him and procured his death.[3] So holy was he, says one writer, that when his head was brought into town it continued to recite the Ḳor'án. Before he died he declared that he had accomplished the death of over seven thousand six hundred Christians.[4] Until then it had seemed probable that he would establish another dynasty, but this was to be the task of others. In Sûs,



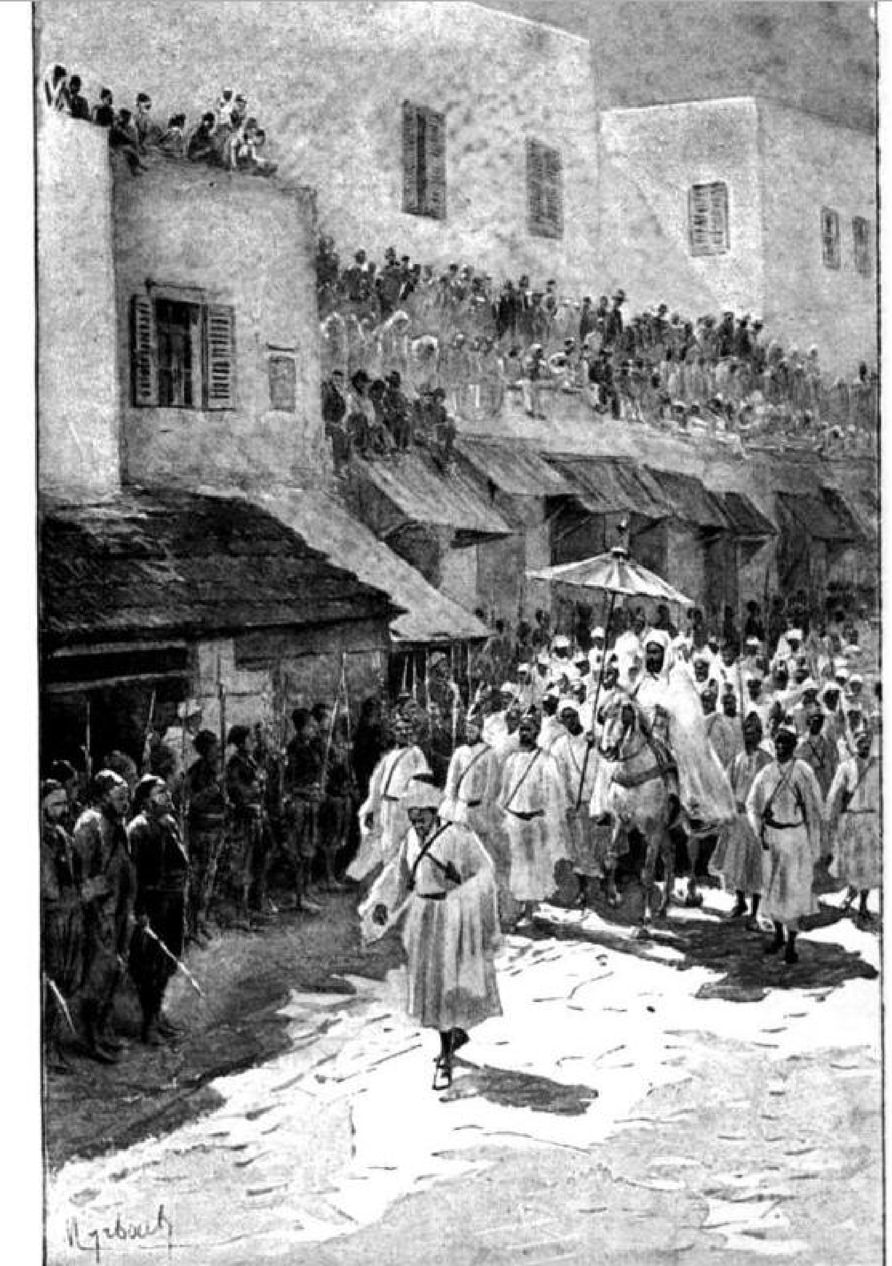
A TOWN MOOR (SERVANT)

[1] PUERTO, p. 541. [2] EL UFRÁNI, p. 440. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 450. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 448.

where hitherto the Fakîh Si 'Abd Allah M'bark had held sway, a separate administration was now set up by 'Ali es-Simláli. Fez, too, clamoured for independence, and ended by inviting from Tafîlált another race of shareefs.
1646. These made their first invasion during this
1648. reign, and were soon the masters of Fez.

On Mohammed's death his followers at once declared
1655. for Ahmad VI. (el 'Abbás), his son by a woman of the Shâbáni tribe. This important body, said to be descended from the Christian prisoners of Yâḳûb el Manṣûr,[1] was now strong enough under their Kaid 'Abd Allah el Hispáni to seize on Marrákesh, and put El 'Abbás
1659. to death by a treacherous use of his seal,[2] proclaiming as his successor his mother's brother, 'Abd el Karîm bin Abu Bakr, better known as "Krom el Háj."[3] This usurper ruled for several years, till Marrákesh was
1668. taken by Er-Rasheed, a sultan of a new dynasty, who decimated the Shâbáni, and enlisted the remainder, transporting their families to the mountains between Oojda and Melilla at Es-Saladîa.[4] He exhumed and burned the body of Krom el Háj,[5] who had been poignarded in the palace by the sister of El 'Abbás, whom he had forced to enter his ḥareem. His son, Mulai es-Sheikh, being captured by Er-Rasheed, he was dragged through the town at the tail of a mule.[6] The Filáli shareefs had already been established over twenty years in Fez, and from this point dates their mastery of the Empire, that of their Sâadi predecessors having lasted nearly a century and a half.

[1] CHENIER. See p. 80. [2] PUERTO, p. 544. [3] EL UFRÁNI, p. 428.
[4] MOUETTE, *Hist.*, p. 232. [5] EL UFRÁNI, p. 477. [6] MOUETTE, *Hist.*, p. 53.



500 knights.[1] As general, Yâkûb had Alfonso de Guzman of San Lucar, who had entered his service in consequence of a quarrel with the king of Castille.[2] Abu Thábit 'Amr sought help against Granáda from Jaime II. of Castille, who subsequently sent troops to support his brother and successor, Sulaïmán I. With this assistance Ceuta was taken, and the Christian cavalry, under Gonsalvo, remained with the Moors.[3] Two years afterwards Gonsalvo and the wazeer conspired against the ameer, and both had to flee to the mountains.[4] En-Náṣiri speaks a little later of one Garcia, son of Antonio, as kaid of the Christians.[5]

European Assistance Sought. 1308.

As years rolled on, when after a weary struggle Spain threw off the Moorish yoke, all intercourse of this description ceased, and fierce inquisitorial hatred took its place. It is not, therefore, till comparatively modern times that we again find Europeans fighting by the side of the Moors.

1637. Père Dan tells us, early in the seventeenth century, that there had been till recently two thousand renegades in Moorish pay, and at one time as many as five thousand light horse and two thousand men-of-arms, all perverts.

Of individual volunteers, from one cause or another, there were doubtless a number at all times, though no account is here taken of the captives and forced renegades. Such a

[1] Mas Latrie, *Traités*, part ii., p. 285.
[2] *Ibid.*, *Relations*, p. 267. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás, p. 556.
[5] vol. ii., p. 123. For references to these mercenaries, see also En-Náṣiri, vol. ii., pp. 5–8, 16, 46, 49, 50, 80, and 122.

English Adventurers. 1604

volunteer was Captain John Smith, of Virginian fame, who appears to have had this idea in his head when his wanderings brought him to Saffi, but after a visit to Marrákesh he returned to England, because he found here "perfidious, treacherous, and bloody murthers rather than warre."[1] Soon afterwards Englishmen served in Morocco under Admiral Rainsborough,* not indeed as mercenaries, but

1637.



Photograph by Dr. Kuddock

MOORISH INFANTRY

as auxiliaries furnished by Charles I. of England to Mulai Zidán against the Morisco republic of Salli. Captain Giffard was engaged for 25*s.* a day and supplies, and was presented with a sword and cloak which Zidán's father had received from Queen Elizabeth. Several military captains served under him at 12*s.* a day, ten sea captains at 4*s.*, the common soldiers to have "12 pence

* Full details of this expedition will be found at the Record Office; see Calendar of State Papers, vols. 1636–1638, and Bibliography, 2219 and 2220.

[1] *Travels*, p. 877.

truly paid them." Of two hundred volunteers with thirty
1607. field pieces most were lost in battle, Giffard refusing to flee when Zidán sent him a horse.[1]

Captain John Smith had found another class of foreigners established in Morocco, to be mentioned in this connection as among those who received wages from the ameers. To quote the Captain's own words: "In all his [Aḥmad el Manṣûr's] kingdome were so few good artificers that hee entertained from England gold-smiths, plummers, carvers and polishers of stone, and watch-makers:* so much hee delighted in the reformation of workmanship: hee allowed each of them ten shillings a day standing fee, linnen, woollen, silkes and what they would for diet and apparell, and custome free to transport or import what they would,"[2] from which it is evident that there were "good old times" for Europeans even in Morocco.

Artificers Imported.

This class of labour seems to have been in demand at intervals under various reigns, though it is to be feared that the good fortune of the foreign employés never again reached the high-water mark of Captain Smith's experience until the enlightened Sidi Mohammed XVII. began to surround himself with Europeans of all sorts, skilled in various
1757. arts. Some of them were sent by their respective governments, principally carpenters, architects, painters, masons and gardeners from Sweden and Denmark; others—notably eight hundred Portuguese and Spanish, and two hundred and fifty French—were renegades, mostly deserters; and from among these he took the

Innovations of Mohammed XVII.

* Felipe II. of Spain, the builder of the Escorial, notwithstanding his hatred of Moriscos, Jews, and Protestants, sent painters to the Moorish Court at this time.[3]

[1] Ro. C., chap. xv. [2] Mas Latrie, p. 871.
[3] Ant. Pons, *Viaje de España*, vol. i., letter ii.

garrison of his new town of Mogador.[1] His life is said to have once been saved by these men, so that in them he reposed a special trust. One renegade, Kaid Drees, was employed to draw up a scheme for a Court after the French style, on which that of Morocco was to some extent remodelled.[2] In this reign also we find one 'Omar, a Scotchman, commanding a pirate vessel.[3]

Among the many interesting pages which the records of Moroccan history unfold, not one is more romantic or replete with adventure than the story of the great Duke of Ripperda. By birth a noble of Holland, he represented that country at the Spanish Court. By adoption a subject and grandee of Spain, he became its Prime Minister under Felipe V. Overthrown for his habitual deception of the Government, he was imprisoned, but escaped to England, where he chartered a vessel for Morocco, and thereupon entered the service of 'Abd Allah V., to whom he became wazeer and general. By birth and education a Romanist, he became successively from policy a Protestant, a Romanist, and a Mohammedan; then the would-be founder of a new religion. Yet he died a Romanist in his retreat at Tetuan—though buried as a Moor—and left on record a career without a parallel. A more unprincipled, astute impostor was never equipped at a Jesuit college, or one who more fully practised Jesuit doctrines.

Ripperda.

With the hope of satisfying not only his ambition, but also his thirst for vengeance on the Spaniards, this wonderful man set sail for the Barbary coast, deluded, like so many others, by reports of
1732. wealth and importance. Of the former Ripperda appears to have had no need, since, besides possessing estates in Holland, he had a happy faculty for making money anywhere. To his protection of the Jews and

A Dutch Grand Wazeer.

[1] Thomassy, p. 303. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 302. [3] Brown on Pellow, p. 32.

his choice of them as his agents he owed no small part of the power whereby he was able to make that brave show which invariably awes the Oriental. With the recommendation of the famous 'Abd el Káder Perez, "admiral" and sometimes ambassador to Europe, supported by a renegade "of kidney like unto his own,"* this unscrupulous adventurer soon made his way at the Moorish Court, till it was virtually in his power. Right and left he dealt his bounty and his smiles, declaring that his only foe was the foe of the Moors, Felipe. He was attended throughout by a faithful valet who ultimately lost his life as a spy in Ceuta (which Ripperda attempted to recover from the Spaniards), and was accompanied always by the "fair Castilian," to whom he owed his escape from prison in Segovia. He possessed the power of making faithful friends, and surrounded himself with a guard of twenty English, Dutch and French renegades, who were willing to die for him. Having won to his side the mother of the sultan, that crafty monarch never swerved in his attachment to Ripperda till he was deserted in his hour of need, and was for the last time dethroned.

The Rise.

A martyr to gout, Ripperda was yet able to reorganise the army, and to lead it in person against Ceuta and O'ran. He punished with death any officer who hesi-

* "A monk, but a scandalous debauchee, who, finding it impossible to reside among Catholics, flying to England, turned Protestant; but not having found his account in his change of religion, fled hither and turned Mohammedan."[1]

[1] *Ripperda's Memoirs.*

A Strong Hand.

tated in the discharge of his orders, and set up gallows around his camp, the which he "loaded plentifully with such as were guilty of plundering, defrauding, or insulting the country people," visiting the outposts every day in person, though he had to be set on his horse and removed like a child. As strong a hand had not been felt in Morocco since Mulai Ismâïl died, for he knew how to make every man whom he met believe that he was serving his own interest by serving him, the secret, perhaps, of all his success.

Meanwhile, by means of the Jews, who were also his spies, he carried on an extensive trade, preserving always the greater portion of his wealth in England or Holland.

The Fall.

But having persuaded Mulai 'Abd Allah to raise supplies by debasing the coin, the country became so impoverished by this and the civil war that the people could stand it no longer, and overthrew both sultan and minister. The duke-báshá then retired to Tetuan, later to Tangier, which he fortified against the incoming sultan, but first turned back his troops, and then made peace with their master with money. As if his projects hitherto had not been remarkable enough, the next was to establish a new religion to include Jews, Muslimîn and Christians. To its principles this celebrated turn-coat certainly conformed—a fitting task, surely, for so consistent an opportunist. Sickness at last overcame him, and having formed the resolution, to use the quaint account of his biographer, "of dying like a man of honour and good sense, that is, like a Christian," he sent to Mequinez for a priest, from whom he received absolution, and soon after died.*

1737.

* A word must needs be said of his anonymous biographer, whose record, although confined to his later years—from 1715—is too accurate and detailed not to have been largely based on the duke's own reminiscences, although compiled in so free a narrative style as to read like romance. Suspicion points to 'Ali, the renegade monk, as its author, but if all the state documents

still in charge of the arsenal at Fez. Till within the last few years a Scotch drill-instructor and a Gibraltarian engineer were employed in Tangier with the rank of kaid, and a German military engineer has for several years been engaged in building batteries for Krupp guns at Rabat. In addition to these officers, the little steamers owned by the Moors have had a succession of foreign crews, but the picturesque days of Moorish service are over, and the only noticeable features at the present time consist in arrears of pay and petty interferences.

CHAPTER THE THIRTEENTH

THE SALLI ROVERS

WHO has not heard of the rovers of Salli? Yet how few have any idea what they really were! Some picturesque notions, doubtless, exist in most minds, some romantic fancy resembling that which casts a halo over brigands and vikings, which it were almost a crime to dispel—an ungrateful task truly, but without alternative.* Their fame is even preserved by the popular name bestowed on the oceanic medusa—vulgarly sea-blubber—*Velella*, known as the "Sallee-man," companion to the *Physalia pelagica*, known as the "Portuguese Man-of-war."† Explain it as we may, it is a remarkable fact that our highest naval title‡

Undeserved Glamour.

* The name "pirate" does not appear to have originally meant a high-sea thief, for among the ancient Danes it was an honourable title borne by princes and captains of vessels, as was the case in King Alfred's navy, according to Bishop Ascher.[1] The word "corsair" is evidently from the Arabic ḳarṣan, a pirate (cruiser for prey), though attributed by some to the Latin currere "to run" (*cf.* "courser" and "cruiser.") A more common name in Morocco is gházi (*pl.* ghuzát), whence ghazawát "raids," especially applied to those directed against infidels.

† Excellent descriptions of the former ship-like creature are given by Professor Jones in his *Natural History of Animals*, vol. i., p. 189; and of the latter by Mr. P. H. Gosse in his *Year at the Sea-shore*," ch. x., which contains also a beautiful coloured drawing of it. (Pl. 28.) See also Gosse's *Life*, p. 89.

‡ Spelled "Ammiral" by Milton (*Par. Lost*, bk. i., l. 294). *Cf.* Arsenal, from Dár es-saná, "House of Industry."

[1] Dan, p. 9.

to-day is only a corruption of the Arabic for "Chief of the Sea"—Ameer el Bahr.

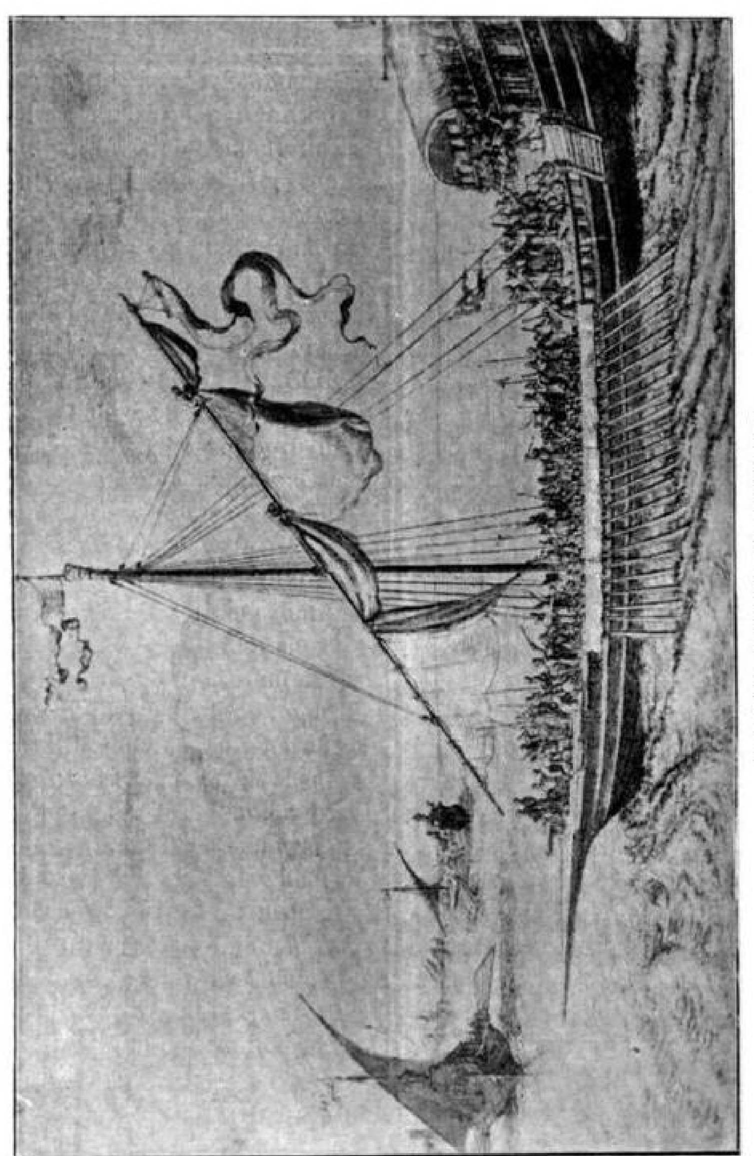
Three centuries ago, and till within a century, these rovers were the terror of our merchantmen, especially at the time when our ancestors were engaged in laying the foundations of our present commerce, when they were succeeding Spaniards, Dutch and Portuguese as colonisers and explorers. Although long before that time the Moorish pirates had become adepts in waylaying and mastering helpless craft, it was not until the Stuart and the early Hanoverian periods that English ships became a special prey. Then, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, scarcely a month passed in the shipping season without captures being made from every maritime nation and city of Europe; and the large proportion of these that were English brought the name of the rovers home to our country as nothing else could have done. It was worse than news of death itself to learn that loved ones were enslaved in Barbary; yet many hundreds had to suffer this suspense, augmented by the awful tales of those who did return.

Period.

There is an unfortunate scarcity of data concerning the origin of Moorish piracy. Some have attributed it to the vengeance of the Moors expelled from Spain; but as they had never been sailors, they could not have at once become pirates. Moreover, there is evidence that before their expulsion the rovers of Salli—ever foremost in this business—had long swept the seas. Naval expeditions were indeed sent forth against Spain, but that was rather the work of allies in Morocco, who already possessed the art and means, though they were, no doubt, reinforced by the homeless arrivals.

Suggested Origin.

To the Moor, all who are not Jews or Muslims are Christians—common enemies supposed to be allied; so the dividing line between naval warfare and piracy was



A SALLI ROVER IN PURSUIT
(From the Dutch edition of Dan, 1684)

not very clearly defined, and it is doubtful whether the Moors ever attempted such a distinction. In this they were not very unlike the European nations of those days.

European Rivals.

Privateering was then part of orthodox naval tactics, and every Mediterranean seaport had its own buccaneers who served themselves or the State, according to which paid best, being one day fêted as defending heroes, and the next day hung at the yard-arm as thieves, for in turn they were both. The distinguishing feature of the Moorish and other Barbary pirates was their continued existence after their profession had been put an end to in Europe. All that can be said against them could probably also be said against each State of southern Europe at an earlier date.

Beyond a doubt the Moors originally owed nearly all they knew of sea warfare to Europeans, from whom at a later period they almost exclusively obtained, not only their arms, but also their vessels. Indeed, foreigners were often caused to serve as officers on board the pirate vessels against their will, as in the case of John Dunton, who, when master and pilot of a "Salli man-of-war," ran her to the Isle of Wight. He was appointed to the

1637. *Leopard*, one of the English fleet sent to bombard Salli.[1]

It has even been asserted by a most competent contemporaneous authority—Captain John Smith, the president and planter of Virginia, who was as intimate as anyone with that class of sailors—that the

English Instructors.

Moorish pirates were taught their trade by the pirates of our own land.* Of these latter the same

* Another interesting fact related by Captain Smith is that Macaulay's "gallant merchantman" which sighted the Armada, bringing the news "full sail to Plymouth Bay" was none other than the vessel of a well-known pirate who received a pardon for this service.

1 *A true Journal of the Salli Fleet*, by JOHN DUNTON, in a *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. 1745. vol. ii., p. 491. (B. Mus. 456, fol. 14.)

writer declares it to have been in his time "incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques of the West Country daily brought home, in regard of their small charge."* He further records that under the peaceful reign of James I., "because they grew hatefull to all Christian princes, they retired to Barbary, where, though there be not many good harbours but Tunis, Argier, Sally, Marmora, and Tituane, there are many convenient rodes, for their best harbours are possessed by the Spaniards.

"Ward,† a poore English sailor, and Dansker, a Dutchman,‡ made first here their marts, when the Moores knew scarce how to saile a ship: Bishop was ancient, and did little hurt, but Easton got so much as made himselfe a marquesse in Savoy, and Ward lived like a Bashaw in

A Contemporary Record.
1600.

Barbary; they were the first that taught the Moores to be men of warre . . . till they became so disjoynted, disordered, debawched, and miserable, that the Turks and Moores began to command them as slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill, which many an accursed runnagado, or Christian-turned-Turk, did, till they have made those Sally men or Moores of Barbary so powerful as they be, to the terror of all the Straights: and many times they take purchase [prizes] even in the main ocean, yea, sometimes even in the narrow seas in England; and these are the most cruell villaines in Turkie or Barbarie, whose

* "*Nulli melius piraticam exercent quam Angli.*"—SCALIGER.

† Dan tells us (p. 312) that it was the Tunisians who were taught by two Englishmen, "Edward and Vver."

‡ Called "Danser" (once misprinted Manser) by Dan, who tells us that Algiers, not Morocco, was his headquarters, where he became established in 1606, and taught the natives to use "round vessels," after which he retired to Marseilles on a pardon (p. 311). His name proclaims him a Dane.

natives are very noble and of good nature in comparison of them."*[1]

But, although there is no reason for impeaching the captain's facts, there is for suspecting his ignorance of history, since, though doubtless men who had sailed with Frobisher, Drake and Raleigh were well able to teach the Moors "a thing or two" with regard to their craft, especially as to the "narrow seas in England," they had long had equally able instructors gathered from the scum of the Mediterranean.† Genoese, Sicilians,

Mediterranean Pirates.

Greeks, Provençals, Catalans and Pisans, all indulged in piracy, for, as the Virginian President remarks of his time, "as in all lands where there are many people there are some theeves, so in all seas much frequented there are some pyrats."

There appears to have been, in fact, a time when, to judge from some of their early treaties, the Moors were

1186. in fear of Europe. The treaty with Pisa,‡ for instance, provides that any Pisan pirate attacking Muslimin should be punished by the Pisans themselves,

* The "Turks"—a term including the Moors—were, during the reign of James I., so daring on the coasts of Devon and carried off so much booty and so many English ships "from under forts and castles left helpless and unguarded," that "noe marchant dared venture on the seas, hardlie they thought themselves secure enough on land." Twenty out of twenty-five who included two "Christians" were hanged on a sentence of Sir John Eliot's court in 1624. "There were fourtie saile of Turks besides those which formerlie kepte that coast." "Pirating had become so much more profitable than honest trading, that several Englishmen actually went into the business." FORSTER's *Life of Sir John Eliot.* London, 1864, vol. i., pp. 317, 428, 320, 193, etc. See also Record Office, Cal. State Papers, vol. 1625–26, pp. 10 to 341, and vol. 1635–36, p. 303.

† Compare the story of the famous Greek renegade, Khair ed-Dîn Barbarossa—"Red-beard"—the worst ever known in Algiers, of which he in time became Dey, and many another of that class who throve on this traffic.

‡ See Mas Latrie's Collection.

1 *The True Travels and Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith.* London 1630, p. 914.

1236. as stipulated also with Genoa* and with
1339. Majorca.† It is, nevertheless, fairly certain that the Moors did all they could in the way of piracy, though it was not till the thirteenth century that their share assumed alarming proportions, when their power in Spain

Probable Origin.

was at its height, and communication across the Straits of Gibraltar demanded adequate supplies of boats. These, when not required for transport, could not be more naturally employed than in holding to ransom vessels becalmed in the passage they knew so well, or eventually in going out of their way to seek and capture inoffensive merchantmen of other nationalities.

More than this, it is on record that the Moors of those days even pirated their co-religionists in Spain,[1] with whom they were as often at war as not. It has also been alleged that there were Jewish pirates in the sixteenth century among the rovers of Morocco.[2] It is probable that Europeans only suffered more because more peaceably disposed, and because the owners of the greater commerce. Those were the days of the galleys, before they had been taught to manœuvre the "round" vessels captured from the foreigners, which, after all, were little bigger than the fishing smacks of present times. It is

Turkish Influence.

possible that but for the establishment of the Turks in Central Barbary in the sixteenth century, this scourge might have died down. The Turks, however, never managed to do more than set foot in Morocco; they were kept back in Algeria by the kings of Tlemçen and Fez, so the Moors were able to develop a piracy quite their own. In spite of the fact that

1390. they had been formidable to the Genoese, who appealed to France against them,[3] their fiercest period followed in the latter portion of the seventeenth century.

* See Mas Latrie's Collection. † *Ibid.*

1 GODARD, p. 304. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 428. 3 FROISSART, vol. iv., chap. ii.

This was induced partly, perhaps, by the example and rivalry of their new neighbours, and partly by the recovery of all the Atlantic ports from the Europeans, which gave much freer scope for their vessels. But the greatest impetus appears to have been given in the first years of the seventeenth century, when Felipe III. of Spain expelled nine hundred thousand of their co-religionists;*
1610. those who fled to Salli became its masters, and made especial havoc of Spanish shipping.[1]

Early Naval Power.

Numerous authors have enabled us to estimate the Moorish naval power at successive periods, though what its effective force was it is not so easy to say, the sizes and descriptions being usually difficult of identification. The earliest reference is of a two-fold interest—first, as relating to a period in which there was no question of the Moors having received European instruction, and second, as the testimony of a Moor, the author of "Raôḍ el Ḳarṭás,"[2] who wrote
1162. about 1326. He states that 'Abd el Mû'min, first of the Muwáḥḥadi Dynasty (Almohades) had four hundred vessels put on the stocks—at Mâmôra one hundred and twenty, at Tangier, Ceuta, Bádis, and other Rîf ports one hundred, at O'ran one hundred, and eighty in Spain.†

These must, of course, have been galleys—long low

* Henry IV. of France should not only be remembered as the far-seeing author of the Edict of Nantes, but also as having permitted one hundred and fifty thousand of these "Moriscos" to settle in France on their certifying themselves to be Christians. Of those who refused to do this a large number settled in Pera, Constantinople, whence they induced the ḳáḍi to expel the Jews.

† Almeria was the maritime arsenal of the Beni Ummeyya, "the port where those fleets were equipped which furrowed in all directions the waters of the Mediterranean, spread devastation over its shores, and allowed no Christian vessel to sail in it."[3]

[1] Dan, p. 204. [2] p. 284. See also Ibn Khaldûn, vol. ii.
[3] El Makkári, bk. viii., chap. ii., p. 311.

Style of Vessels.

rowing boats of ancient pattern, needing little mechanism, and propelled by oars or sweeps, each worked by several pairs of arms, by preference those of slaves. Their length would vary from twenty to sixty yards, with a breadth of from three to seven, and their oars —sometimes as much as sixteen yards long—were supplemented by lateen sails of the style of the faluchos still employed by Spaniards on this coast. Those of Barbary were small, especially in Morocco, where they were fewer in number than in the other Barbary States, being supported



A MOORISH SHALOUP
(From Höst, 1779)

by only one mast. Such vessels had no "prow castle," and little or no bulwark, that they might be light for chase and escape. They were impelled by about two hundred Christian slaves a-piece, packed tightly on some two dozen benches with a gangway down the centre.[1] Such a craft was always formidable to a vessel encumbered with cargo, carrying only sufficient hands for navigation. Moreover, while the merchantman was always at the mercy of the wind, the well-armed galley was almost as independent of it as the steamers of to-day, and its warriors were well supplied with lances and arrows.

[1] For good descriptions see Furttenbach, *Architectura Navalis*—with excellent drawings—1629; and Capt. Pantero Pantera; also Dan, p. 308.

Previous to this the Aghlabîs of Sicily and "Saracens" of the Levant had owned their navies, and had been the terror of the seas; and it was with seventy galleys and one hundred other vessels that "Aben Chapella" the corsair was said to have carried Islám to Barbary;[1] but here we have to deal with Moors alone.

Long gaps in the available data then ensue, for the
1493. next reference occurs when the Governor of Ceuta who took the now no longer existing port of Targa, east of Tetuan, burned there twenty-five Moorish
1629. vessels.[2] Razelli found seventeen vessels in the river at Salli, and about a score entered later[3] —a formidable fleet for the period, though not one

Modern Moorish Navies.

which would be of consequence at the present day,* probably not more formidable than an

* As most of the vessels of those days are now hardly known even by name, an explanation of the most common varieties alluded to may be of use.

A *Brig* has generally two masts, either square-rigged, or nearly like a ship's main-mast and fore-mast.

A *Brigantine* is an uncovered vessel without a deck.

A *Caravel* was a small, round vessel, of twenty-five to thirty tons, such as is used in the French herring fisheries.

A *Carrac*, or *Carraque*, was a large ship of burden, a merchantman.

A *Corvette* was originally a light vessel with one mast.

A *Frigate* in the Mediterranean is a vessel propelled by both sails and oars.

A *Galiote* was a small brigantine built for chase, with one mast and sixteen or twenty seats for rowers.

A *Galley* carried two masts with lateen sails, and had one deck.

A *Shaloup*, or *Chaloupe*, is a ship's long-boat.

A *Pinque*, or *Pink*, was a vessel with a very narrow stern.

A *Polacre* has three masts, each of one piece.

A *Snow* was "a brig which set her boom mainsail on a trysail mast, instead of, as is the present way, on the mast itself."[4]

A *Tartan* was "a small coasting vessel peculiar to the Mediterranean, now seldom seen,"[5] but akin to the felucca, with only one mast and a bowsprit, and a very large sail on a lateen yard, and sometimes a square sail.

A *Xebeck* is a small three-masted vessel of the Mediterranean, carrying two large square sails in fair weather; at other times lateen sails.

[1] Dan, p. 698. [2] Gen. Sandoval, in the *Revue africaine*, April, 1871, p. 177. [3] Armand, p. 17. [4] Brown on Pellow, p. 368. [5] *Ibid.*

equal number of Spanish and Portuguese sailing vessels such as may be seen each season loading grain and oranges for Seville in the river at Laraiche. A little later St. Olon reported about a dozen vessels, mostly mounting eighteen to twenty guns in bad condition, with
1682. crews averaging two hundred men.[1] Two hundred and thirty-three Moors were then to be found in
1690. the Frenchmen's navy,[2] most of whom took part in the attempted invasion of England in support of James against William III. They arrived in long narrow galleys with decks but a couple of feet from the water, in each of which, besides one hundred and fifty officers and soldiers, there were no less than three hundred and thirty-six slaves, five or six of these unfortunates being allotted to each of the sixty sweeps.[3] Among their number were Turks and other hostile nationalities as well as Moors.

That a century later such galleys still continued to be built, is shown by the captain of the English privateer

A Moorish Galley.
1760.

Inspector having been set to work on one at Tetuan.* It had, he tells us, a keel of ninety feet, and a breadth of twenty, and carried forty oars, nine carriage guns, twenty swivel guns and two hundred and thirty hands.†[4] These details are of

* They were used in the French navy down to 1773.

† A British Admiralty report of 1768[5] says that Laraiche had fitted out three xebecks, one of twenty-eight guns chiefly six-pounders, and one hundred and eighty men; one of twenty-four guns and one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty men; and one of twenty guns and one hundred men. There was another twenty-four-gun frigate "with a xebeck bottom." At Mamora there was a snow of sixteen guns built at Salli by a Portuguese renegade: a row-galley of thirty oars, eighty men and eight guns; and a xebeck of thirty-six oars and sixteen guns.

The "Annual Register" of 1775 (p. 84) contains a "complete list of the Moorish navy" as follows: "At Laraiche two frigates of 30 guns and 200 men each; three of 24 guns and 150 men each; two of 20 guns and 130 men

[1] p. 14. [2] Thomassy, p. 141. [3] Macaulay's *History*, chap. xvi. [4] Houghton, p. 136. [5] Public Record Office, vol. x., Aug. 12th.

special value as those of a practical man, and the only ones personally obtainable which make any pretence at exactness. But Dan informs us that galleys were much less used by the Moorish rovers than by those of the Mediterranean, where the waves are not so formidable as
1637. on the ocean, and that they only used "carraques, pinques and polacres," of which they then owned thirty in all. The galleys of Tetuan chiefly confined their attention to Spanish fishermen.

Mohammed XVII. was possessed of twenty corsairs with from eighteen to fifty guns a-piece, eleven of which were described as frigates.*[1] One of these latter—
Dimensions of Vessels. country built—carried three hundred and thirty men and forty-five guns, which had to be taken over the bar in barges and shipped in the offing; but most of the Salli rovers were only of from thirty to sixty tons, for even when the tide was in there were but eleven or twelve feet of water on the bar.†[2] En-Násiri

each; one galliot of 22 oars, 12 guns and 90 men; all ready to put to sea. At Tetuan two xebecs of 30 oars, 20 guns and 200 men each; one galliot of 32 oars, 16 guns and 100 men; three of 24 oars, 10 guns and 90 men each, and one of 16 oars, 8 guns and 70 men; all ready for sailing. There are also ready for launching one xebec of 26 oars, pierced for 16 guns, and two galliots of 22 oars, pierced for 12 guns each. At Sallee one vessel of 24 guns and 180 men; one xebec of 20 oars, 18 guns and 120 men; and three galliots of 30 oars, 10 guns and 130 men each; ready to be launched. At Tangier one galliot of 36 oars, 10 guns and 160 men, besides several others very forward on the stocks."

* In 1760 there were at Laraiche five pirate vessels, only one of which mounted forty guns.[3]

† So far from the harbours of Morocco having suffered from the "Lisbon" earthquake of 1755, as is often asserted, such a result is never hinted at in the full reports transmitted to the Royal Society by the Governor of Gibraltar,[4] from which it seems that the most serious damage done at Salli was the "oversetting" of two ferry boats, with some loss of life and camels, and the deposition of fish in the streets, though at Saffi the sea reached the principal mosque. It was only in the interior, whence reports were less reliable, that "vast numbers of houses fell down," and eight leagues from Marrákesh the

[1] THOMASSY, p. 298. [2] DAN, 1637. [3] MERRY, p. 13.
[4] *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xlix., p. 428.

says he had thirty frigates and brigs, and sixty smaller vessels; but this must be taken as native exaggeration.
1788. Chenier reported the naval force of Morocco as six or eight frigates of two hundred tons burthen, with port-holes for from fourteen to eighteen six-pounders, and perhaps a dozen galleys. By that time the natives became sailors with reluctance, on a meagre, fluctuating pay, and the command was only entrusted to rich men who might be relied on to return.

About the same time Lemprière reported the navy to consist of "fifteen small frigates, a few xebecks, and twenty to thirty row-gallies," manned by about six thousand
1793. seamen under one admiral.[1] Three years later the figures are given as ten frigates, four brigs, fourteen galiotes and nineteen shaloups, the number of seamen remaining the same;[2] but then one knows how vague are Moorish statistics.

Passing to the present century, the Moorish navy is
1805. described by Buffa[3] as consisting only of four frigates, a brig, and a sloop of war. Ten years later Riley could only hear of a frigate of seven hundred tons with thirty-two guns, a coppered brig of eighteen guns presented by a Mogador Jew—one Makneen—and a new frigate of five hundred tons and thirty-two guns, besides occasional captured vessels.[4] But if the numbers had
The Decrease. decreased this had been more than counter-
1820. balanced by the increase in size. Yet after

village of the Beni Bû Sunba and country people to the number of eight or ten thousand were swallowed up. This was on November 1st, and a second shock on the 18th did much damage in Fez and Mequinez, where "there are but few houses left standing," only eight of those of the Jews being saved. The damage done in Mequinez and Zarhôn is, however, vouched for independently by Ez-Zaïáni.[5] Chenier, writing in 1788, says that this earthquake increased the depth of water at the mouth of the river in flood time to near thirty feet.

[1] p. 251. [2] GODARD, p. 156. [3] p. 43. [4] p. 565. [5] p. 121.

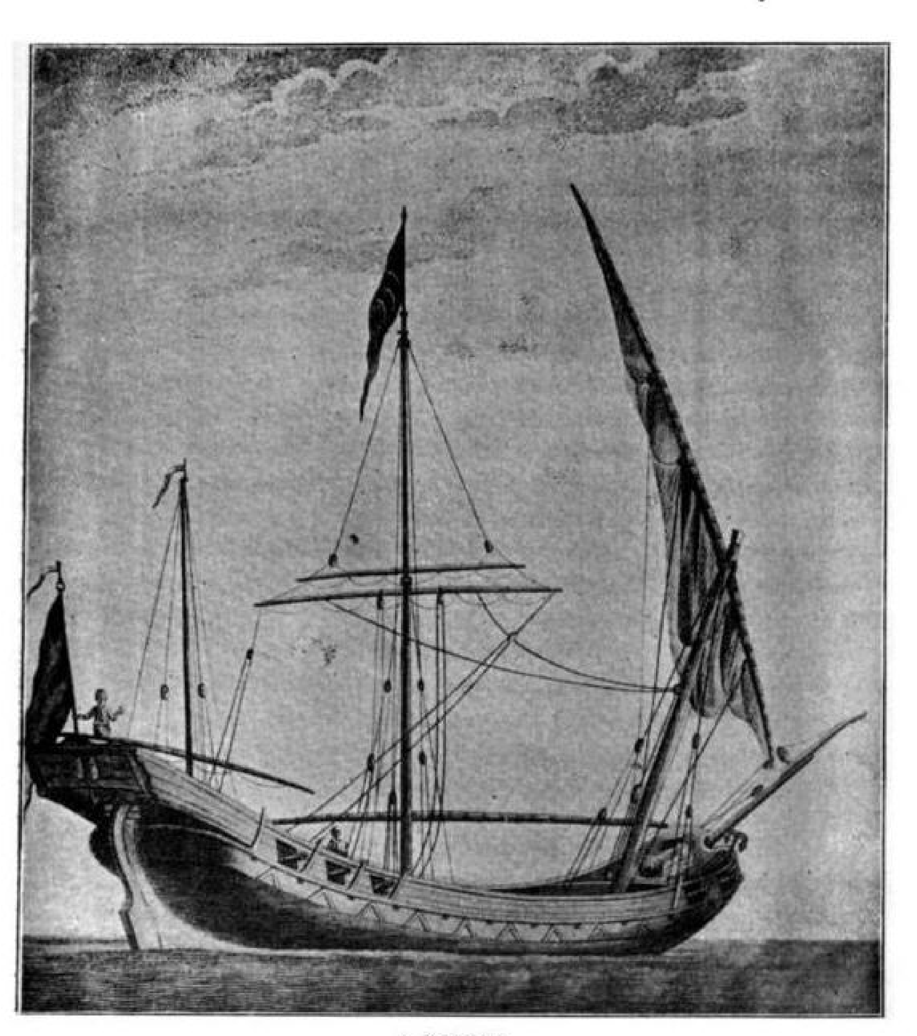
five years only three brigs mounting forty cannon, and
1834. thirteen gun-boats remained.[1] Gråberg made
the same returns,[2] evidently a quotation. Hay gives the
1839. fleet as consisting of a corvette, two brigs (once
merchantmen purchased from the Christians),* a schooner
and a few gun-boats, all unfit for sea.[3] But the days
of Moorish piracy were ended, and at last there only
1860. remained of the fleet that had once been the
terror of Europe a schooner of four guns, a brig of twelve,
and four gun-boats or two-masted xebecks rotting in the
Wád El Ḳûs.[4]

What the Moors lacked in tonnage they always knew how to make up in boasting, as witness the letter of Mulai Ismâïl to Captain—afterwards Sir Cloudesley—
Moorish Bluff. 1684. Shovel, when the Portuguese handed Tangier to the English:—"Henceforward," he wrote, "I shall have ships built as big as yours, if not bigger, hoping to take some of your ships and captains, and cruise for you in your English seas as you do for us in these. . . . As for the captives you have taken, you may do with them as you please, heaving them into the sea or destroying them in other ways."[5] To which the captain made answer as befitted an Englishman.

Yet the very next year Captain Phelps, who was himself the captain of a privateer, who had been captured but had
Modus Operandi. escaped, asserted that "No Salleeman will fight a ship of ten guns."[6] They always sailed two or three together, making a great show on deck, issuing imperious demands of surrender with a view to terrifying

* One of these would be the "old Sardinian vessel, bought and armed against all powers not having treaties," an eight-gun terror, which, a few years later, was the only remaining Moorish vessel.[7] Austria, Tuscany, Naples, and the Hanse Towns had only just ceased paying $5000 a year to secure immunity for their merchantmen; and it was time.

[1] Godard, l.c. [2] p. 229. [3] p. 99. [4] Godard, l.c. [5] Ockley.
[6] p. 5. [7] P. R. Office, F. O. Docs., vol. xxxiv., Nos. 99, 101.



A XEBECK
(From Höst, 1797)

harmless merchantmen,[1] and appear to have relied more on deceit and strategy than on force, though when they did come to blows, no one could accuse them of faint-heartedness.* Often they would approach under false colours, or invent some pretext for demanding to see the ship's papers while they got to windward, or induce someone to come on board in a friendly way. But the real secret of their success appears to have been the defenceless condition of the majority of the little trading vessels of those days, and the unreasonable dread their very name inspired. From time to time, in addition to the European privateers and regular convoys afloat, expeditions were fitted out against them, chiefly by France,† Holland, England and Spain, but all they accomplished was taken as part of the game, and had an inciting rather than a deterrent effect.

April and May were the piracy months,[2] and the season closed in September, presumably on account of the greater number of vessels then venturing into the Mediterranean, and perhaps also on account of the prevailing winds, which then begin to blow from the east, but all the year round some prizes were coming in, to be used in their turn as pirate vessels if suitable, while before their crews there lay the direst of prospects. All goods captured were put up to auction, and the proceeds divided *pro rata* among the crew till Mulai Ismâïl claimed a tenth of the prizes, including the captives.

* Chenier tells of an old Moor of his acquaintance who had been a boy on one of Ismâïl's galleys, and informed him that often when without explosive ammunition the pirates would shower the flints and stones employed as ballast on the worse-armed merchantmen till they were overpowered and captured.

† In 1732 the Marseilles merchants wished to use the produce of a lottery to arm three frigates with sails and oars for three campaigns of eight months against the pirates of Morocco, and petitioned Louis XV. for the same assistance as had been permitted against Tripoli in 1728, but this was refused.[3]

[1] Dan. [2] Mouette, *Capt.*, p. 19; Dan., p. 307. [3] Thomassy.

It is probable that all along the presence of paid mercenaries, renegades and captives in Morocco was accountable for much of the rovers' success.

Foreign Assistance.

In this respect, for instance, Mehedia (or Mâmôra)—now a port no longer—when it was taken by the Spaniards, early in the seventeenth century, could be described as "a perfect kennel of European outlaws, English, French, Dutch, but few Italians or Spanish, the offscourings of every port, who, like the 'squaw-men' of the West, and the 'beach-combers' of the Pacific, led a congenial existence among the barbarians."[1] Père Dan[2] even says that renegades were the principal

1637.

stay of the Moorish sultans, and that the corsairs were maintained by them.*

Moreover, it is more than hinted at by writers of the times[3] that some of those who passed as respectable merchants were not above taking an interest

European Merchants Involved.

in the nefarious traffic in slaves which was the result, even when enjoying consular appointments, just as in later years, the game having been reversed, some of their successors have not been above playing into the hands of conscienceless native officials who professionally prey upon their fellow countrymen. Many of these willing intermediaries brought the arms and gunpowder from Europe which the pirates needed, and instead of taking cash took European slaves for whose redemption money had been raised abroad.†

* A "missive" from Admiral Van Gant to the States General, dated 1670, describes a fight off Laraiche with pirates, two of which were in command of renegades.

† In the City of London Library (MS. boxes 340 and 341) is a collection of printed briefs issued for the redemption of captives, dated 1691. They contain a charge to the archbishops and bishops to "effectually stir up the other Clergy to give prevailing Arguments to their flocks, both by exhortation

[1] Brown, intr. to Pellow, p. 13. [2] p. 383.
[3] *Cf.* Brisson, p. 151, Houghton, Mouette, and Ockley, p. 112.

The possession by Portugal and Spain of most of the other Moorish ports rendered that of the Bû Ragrag, with the two towns of Slá and Rabat at its mouth—which always remained in the hands of the Moors—their principal pirate stronghold, the European corruption of the former name being lent to the much-dreaded rovers. For a considerable period during the chaos which preceded the establishment of the reigning dynasty, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Salli became almost independent, and virtually formed a little republic after the style of the Berber tribes in the hills behind. From these tribes, without doubt, its best recruits were obtained, although directed and controlled by refugees from Spain.

The Republic of Salli.

When convenient, the sultans would repudiate their
1636. deeds, and Mulai Zîdán even went so far as to obtain assistance from our Charles I. to subdue them, not, however, with a view to the extermination of their piracy—as he so carefully explained—but that he might control it on his own account.* This was what his more powerful successors accomplished, first demanding a tenth of the booty, then a fifth,[1] and afterwards claiming the whole, rewarding the captors at so much a head. From that time forward the Government assumed entire responsibility for the raids of its "navy," and it was with the sultans in person that all bargains had to be struck for their redemption.

Royalties.

The wane of Moorish piracy may be dated from about

and example, for a Liberal Contribution towards the Redemption of these Miserable Wretches." See MS. 288 in the same library for the accounts of the £16,591 12*s*. 2½*d*. collected from 1700 to 1705. The disbursements included 7900 "Barbary Gun-locks."

* The official translation, free and flowery, of this interesting document is to be seen in the MS. room at the British Museum, vol. 15,891, f. 234.

[1] St. Olon, p. 15.

1750. A severe blow was dealt by Tuscany, which sent
1781. Sir John Acton in the frigate *Etruria* to

ENGAGEMENT OFF SALLI
(From the Dutch edition of Dan, 1684)

demand the return of two of her ships with damages, an errand which was successful.* Yet later the Moors

* The Moors were given twenty-four hours to decide, but the sultan was in Mequinez, and the governor of Tangier would not communicate with him.

1799. were able with eight vessels to blockade the port of Cadiz.[1] Mulai Sulaïmán II. perceived that the day of the rovers was over, though when he learned that Europeans were carrying on a contraband trade with Er-Rîf in animals and corn, he despatched his vessels to capture all ships found on that coast, despatching also
Cir. 1820. an army to the mountains behind, while he himself came by Táza to punish the tribesmen, a campaign
1896. recently repeated.

It would be difficult to name the year in which this piracy ceased, for though Mulai Sulaïmán was willing to disarm his useless vessels, when from a terror
The End.
1817. they had degenerated into a nuisance, and the time had come to retire gracefully before the introduction of steam, there can be no question that the practice died hard. En-Náṣiri, indeed, makes the remarkable statement[2] that the capture of Austrian
1828. vessels was no random act of irresponsible rovers, but part of the deliberate design of Mulai 'Abd er-Raḥmán to revive the "holy war by sea," for which purpose he had vessels specially built. These sailed under the orders of Ḥáj 'Abd er-Raḥmán Bargásh and Ḥáj 'Abd er-Raḥmán Bir-Raïtál, who seized the vessels in question, and in-
1829. curred the ineffectual bombardment of Laraiche.* Though this occurrence gave the death-blow to the system, two British vessels were detained in the same

Acton went round Cape Spartel, and seeing a big village between Azîla and Laraiche, landed a force at night and took six men (one an important shareef of the sultan's family), eight women, a boy, and two girls. He lay off Tangier next morning for an answer, when the governor agreed to write to the sultan, and Acton, having left for Gibraltar, in due time returned and received all he demanded, giving up the hostages.

* The Austrian vessels having rashly entered the river, as the French before them had done on a similar occasion, they were cut off with a loss of forty-three by death and others as prisoners. An account of the affair is given by Augustin, who was sent with the envoy commissioned to make peace.

[1] GODARD, p. 579. [2] vol. iv., p. 183.

1830. year,[1] and we find Sir Arthur Brooke reporting that the Moorish "brigs of war" still sailed "in hopes of pouncing upon some unfortunate Bremen or Hamburg merchantmen."[2]

This is perhaps the most recent record of actual piracy, which to-day is so entirely a thing of the past that in the country itself it is difficult to find a Moor, not deriving his information from foreign sources, who knows more about it than that in the days when his forefathers were good Muslimîn they were a match for all the Christians together, and made them pay tribute all round. And pay tribute they did, as still they do in the eyes of
European Tributaries. the Moors, whenever a foreign ambassador goes up to Court with his presents. But the tribute in those days was real, and it is to the New World that the honour belongs of having first refused to submit to such a disgraceful blackmail, for the Government of the United States set the European nations the example of declining to continue it. When on his way to Tripoli to demand re-
1803. dress for cutting down the flagstaff of his nation there, U.S. Commodore Preble had captured the Moorish pirate *Meshboä* with an American vessel in tow, and having shaped his course for Tangier, obtained the release of all American prizes.

From that time so-called piracy has been confined to plundering stranded vessels, as in the many cases on
1823. the coast of Sûs, the *Ann Lucy* at Mazagan,
Recent Plunderings. and several cases on the Rif coast. In con-
1848. sequence of two English vessels having been pillaged, Sir Charles Napier was ordered to make a
1852. demonstration with a view to checking these affairs, but he achieved nothing, so Prince Adalbert of
1856. Prussia was despatched on a similar errand.

It was the opinion of Sir John Drummond Hay that

[1] P.R.O., "Morocco," vol. 35, 1829. [2] vol. i., p. 281.

he administered a more effectual check by personal ex-
1856. postulations on the spot.[1] It was at this time that the Moorish Government first formally assumed responsibility for the action of the Rifis by paying seven thousand dollars to the French as indemnity for the pillage of the *Jeune Dieppois*.[2] The Spanish war which soon followed helped to keep things quiet for some time.
1887. More recently a Spanish smuggler was raided, since which there have been several cases, culminating
1897. in a series two years ago, which led to another punitive expedition not yet concluded.

Contraband Trade.

It must not be forgotten that the object of most of the little sailing vessels running such risks on the Moorish coast is contraband trade, which gives a different aspect to many a case of so-called
1813. "piracy." Thus Ez-Zaïáni says that there was so much contraband trade with Christians in Er-Rîf that the sultan was obliged to send all his vessels to seize the foreign smugglers, several of whose ships were captured.[3]

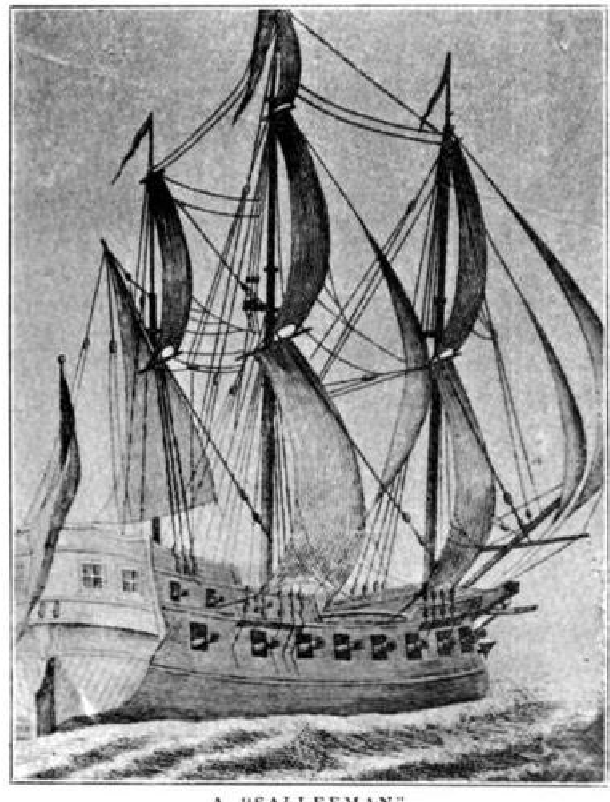
Difficulty of Suppression.

The recent events on the Moorish coast are but the practice on the sea of the general custom in these parts of plundering every weaker party that comes along, a custom by which a large proportion of the mountain Berbers live, regarding it as a quite respectable calling. If by Divine decree the wind drives small vessels on to their coast, and Allah gives them victory over their unarmed crews, why hesitate to plunder? As long as the Governments of the victims are content to ransom their subjects, or to accept pecuniary compensation, which comes largely out of the pockets of innocent neighbours, this sort of thing will continue. All the good excuses in the world about upsetting the balance of power, or fear of embroiling Europe

[1] *Murray's Magazine*, vol. ii., November, 1887, pp. 583-595, and *Life of Sir John Drummond Hay.*

[2] GODARD, p. 675. [3] p. 194. See EN-NÂṢIRI, vol. iv, p. 149.

in war, will not, in the eyes of the Moors, explain the supine policy adopted with this "sick man of the West." Morocco only knows that the bark of the "Christian dog"



A "SALLEEMAN"
(From Höst, 1797)

is far worse than the chance of his biting, although the Government knows that he can bite.

As for the Berber population, they know nothing of Europe and less of its Powers: even the sultan is to them little more than a name. In individual cases he can